

Two Dimensions of Immigrant (Non)Incorporation

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“Remember, remember always that all of us, and you and I especially, are descended from immigrants and revolutionists.”

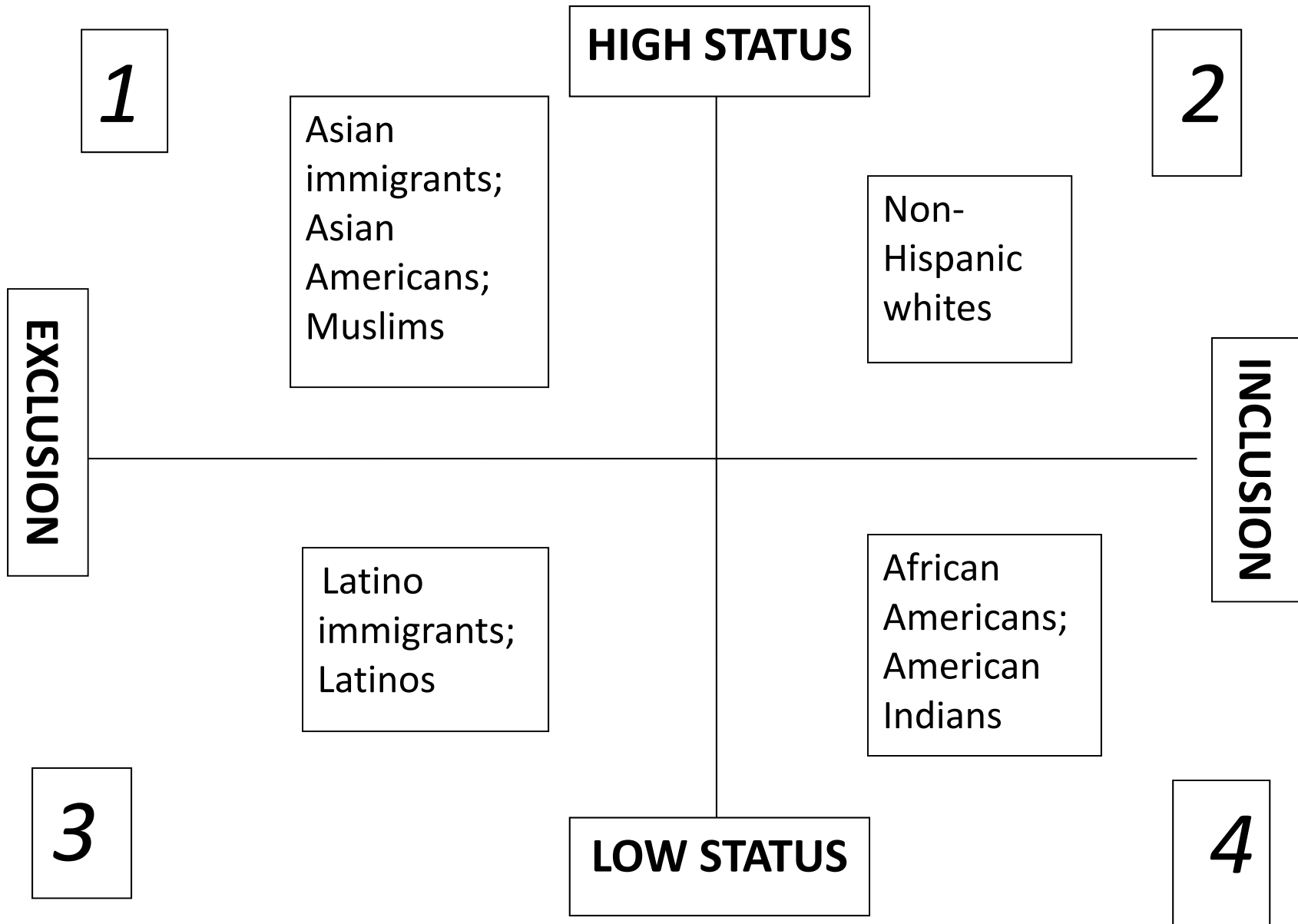
--President Franklin Roosevelt, speaking to the Daughters of the American Revolution,
1938

“Illegal immigrants. . . [are]
unaccountable and indifferent to
what it means to be an American. . . .
It is hard to convince them – or
anyone else -- that the nation is
committed to the rule of law.”

--Former member of Congress Tom Tancredo, in
*In Mortal Danger: The Battle for America's
Border and Security*

“My grandfather did not travel across 4,000 miles of the Atlantic Ocean to see this country overrun by immigrants.”

--Stephen Colbert, testifying before Congressional committee, 2010



Using the model in U.S. history

- Before Civil War: most whites in quadrant 2, most blacks in quadrant 3
- Late 19th century: southern and eastern European immigrants, and Asians, move into quadrant 3
 - Blacks move into quadrant 4
- Mid-20th century: white descendants of immigrants in quadrants 2 and 4
 - Asians excluded
 - Blacks in quadrant 4; Mexicans in quadrant 3

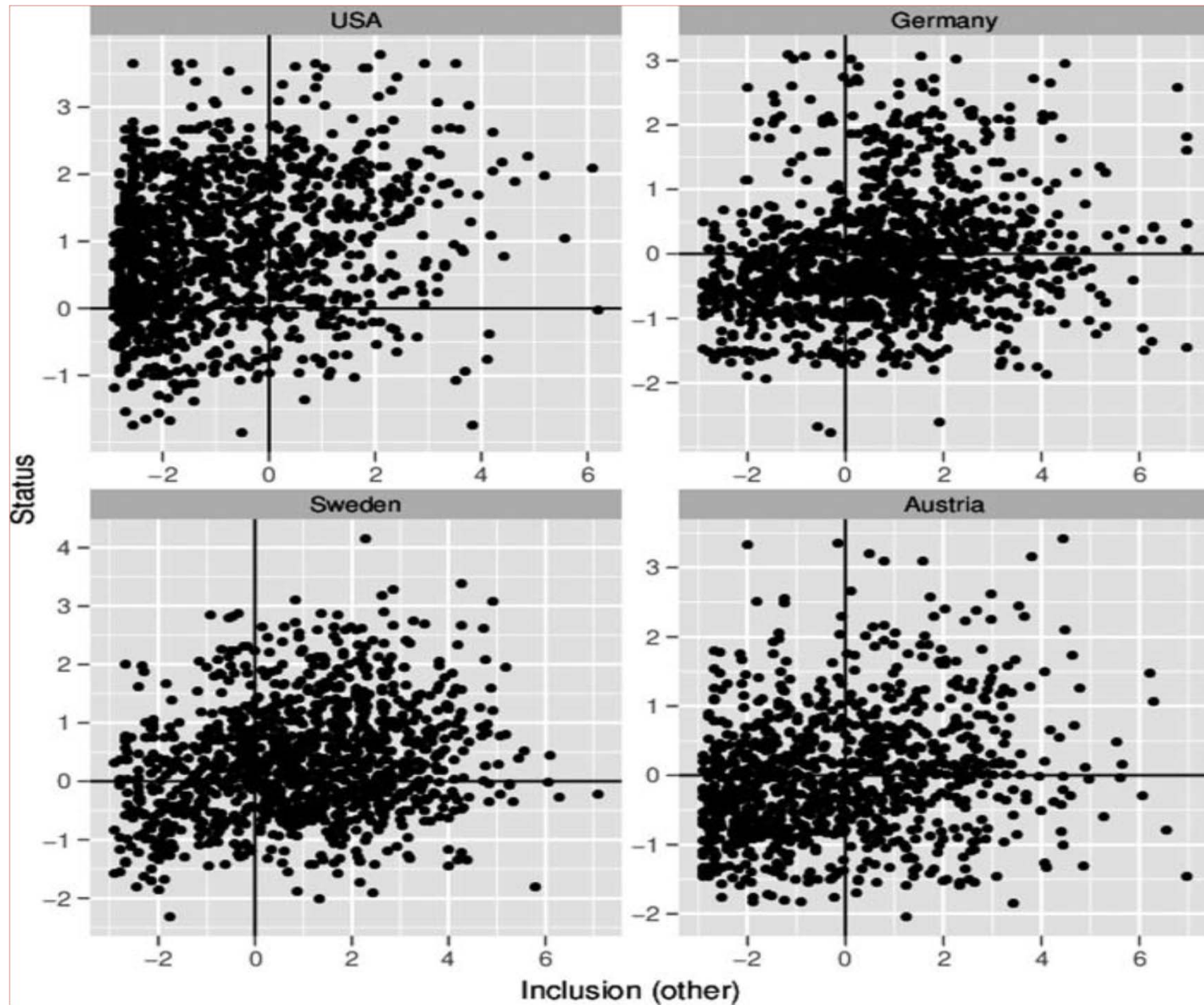
A group's position can change over time, as new groups enter the polity

- *Status*: undocumented immigrants replace blacks as workers with worst conditions
- *Inclusion*: “blacks are the central metaphor for otherness and oppression in the United States. . . . [But] we’re in the United States and [from our perspective] blacks are Americans. They’re Anglos. . . . They’re Anglos of a different color, but they’re Anglos”.” --Jorge Klor de Alva

A group's position can differ, depending on location

- Cubans are dominant in Miami, on both dimensions
- Some Cubans in New Jersey: “Havana on the Hudson”
 - Varied status, partial insiders
- A few Cubans in Appleton, Wisconsin
 - outsiders

Variation across quadrants in different countries, ISSP 2003



Applying the model to immigrants: *status*

- 9% of native-born US adults did not finish high school
 - 20 % of naturalized citizens
 - 38 % of noncitizens
- 30% of native-born US adults have a B.A. or more
 - 34 % of naturalized citizens
 - 24 % of noncitizens
- Immigrants overall are both *less* well educated than and *better* educated than native-borns

Within groups

- White immigrants: more likely to have little education *and* college degrees than native-born whites: DISPERSE
- Black immigrants: more likely to have college degrees than native-born blacks: RAISE
- Asian immigrants: more likely to have little education *and* college degrees than native-born Asian Americans: DISPERSE
- Hispanic immigrants: much more likely to have little education than native-born Latinos: LOWER

Status over time

- After 20 years, an immigrant's job mobility "is roughly equivalent to a promotion from an unskilled laborer's position to that of an operative, or from an accountant's position to that of a mid-level manager" (Vigdor, 2009)
- Immigrants' children have higher levels of education, higher earnings, and better jobs than their parents
 - And in some cases, higher than native-borns

But. . .

- Undocumented immigrants
 - ~ 10 million in 2010
 - 3/5 of Mexican immigrants
- Adult Mexican Americans who immigrated to U.S. as children have lower incomes and lower occupational scores than otherwise similar native-borns

“If you don’t have papers and you do own something, the day that something happens it just all goes away. . . . I think maybe I’m gonna work hard for it, and have it, and then like, all of a sudden you know my dream just shattered, and I think [about what] if I had papers, and I got ahead, and I know it would be mine and nobody could take it away.” (Gonzales 2009)

Applying the model to immigrants: *legal inclusion*

- Public schools must include immigrants, and provide English-language services
- Covered by Fair Labor Standards Act
- Supreme Court ruling, 1975: traffic stops on Mexican border legal in search for drugs, if reasonable suspicion
 - “trained officers can recognize the characteristic appearance of persons who live in Mexico, relying on such factors as the mode of dress and haircut.” (*US v. Brignoni-Ponce*)

Legal inclusion, cont.

Section 287g of 1996
immigration law:
“permit[s]
designated . . . local
law enforcement
officers to perform
immigration law
enforcement
functions.”

Sheriff Joe Arpaio’s “ICE Holds”



	Increase immigration	Decrease
Austria	7%	63%
Canada	30	31
Denmark	10	50
France	8	66
Germany	4	73
Great Britain	6	78
Netherlands	4	70
Norway	8	70
Spain	10	54
Sweden	12	57
Switzerland	6	44
United States	11	56

Social Exclusion

And yet. . .

40% to 70% of Americans say

- “immigration is a good thing for this country today”
- legal immigrants “do more to help the country . . . [than] to hurt” it
- immigrants “contribute to this country” instead of “caus[ing] problems”
- immigrants “have more appreciation for the Constitution and its rights and freedoms” than other Americans
- immigrants “work harder than people born here”

- **Confusion and ambivalence!!**

Policies on immigration

- Majorities endorse border-hardening measures
 - literal or electronic wall on the Mexican border
 - using the National Guard to patrol the border
 - enhancing the number of border police
- Majorities also endorse pathways to citizenship
 - temporary guest worker programs
 - point systems for high-skilled workers
 - the “chance to keep their jobs and eventually apply for legal status”
 - “the right to live here legally if they pay a fine and meet other requirements”
- Confusion and ambivalence!!

But, some passionately oppose the
undocumented



No confusion or ambivalence. . .

Immigrants' views on inclusion

- 70% would come to the U.S. if they “could do it again”
- 3/4 accept the description of the U.S. as “a unique country that stands for something special in the world”
- Majority endorse American job opportunities and the legal, health care, and education systems
- fewer than 5 years were needed for ¾ to “feel comfortable here and part of the community”

BUT. . .

- over half of long-term immigrants agree that the “government is giving legal immigrants a harder time”
- “We are not comfortable. . . . If anything bad happens overseas, in the U.S., in England, we are going to be treated badly. You get scared to be a Muslim. People treat you bad, look at you bad. We are scared for our safety. I get scared that if something happens they will come attack us here in our home.”

Despite my education and profession, “I am still an undocumented immigrant. And that means . . . going about my day in fear of being found out. It means rarely trusting people, even those closest to me, with who I really am. It means keeping my family photos in a shoebox rather than displaying them on shelves in my home, so friends don’t ask about them. It means reluctantly, even painfully, doing things I know are wrong and unlawful” (Jose Vargas, *NYT*, 2011)

Confusion and ambivalence!!

Great variation across localities

- 1,059 immigration-related bills and resolutions introduced in all state legislatures in 2007
 - laws “expanding immigrants’ rights were enacted at a higher rate (19 percent of 313 bills) than policies contracting immigrants’ rights (11 percent of 263 bills).”
- Put another way, 60 bills to expand immigrants’ rights passed
 - 28 contracted rights

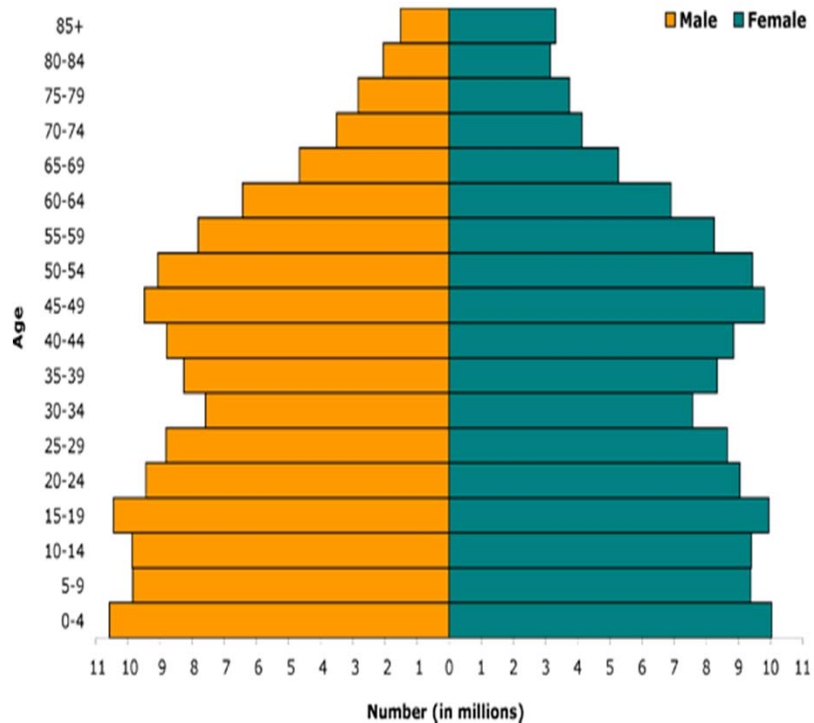
What can resolve the confusion and ambivalence?*

*What can move immigrants from exclusion to inclusion, in the 2-dimensional model?

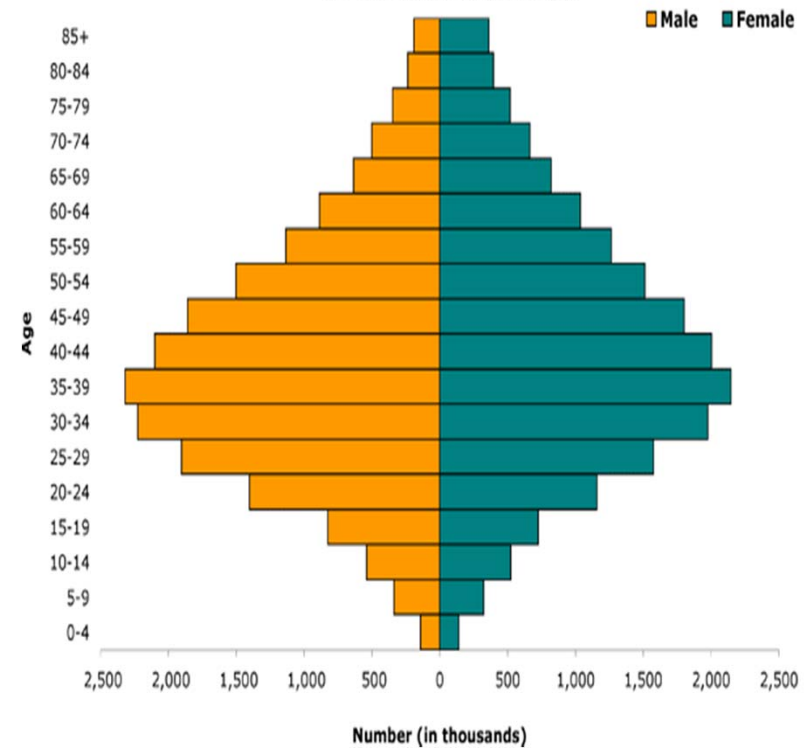
- Demographic change + young adults + politics

Demographic change

Native Population, by Age and Sex,
for the United States: 2008



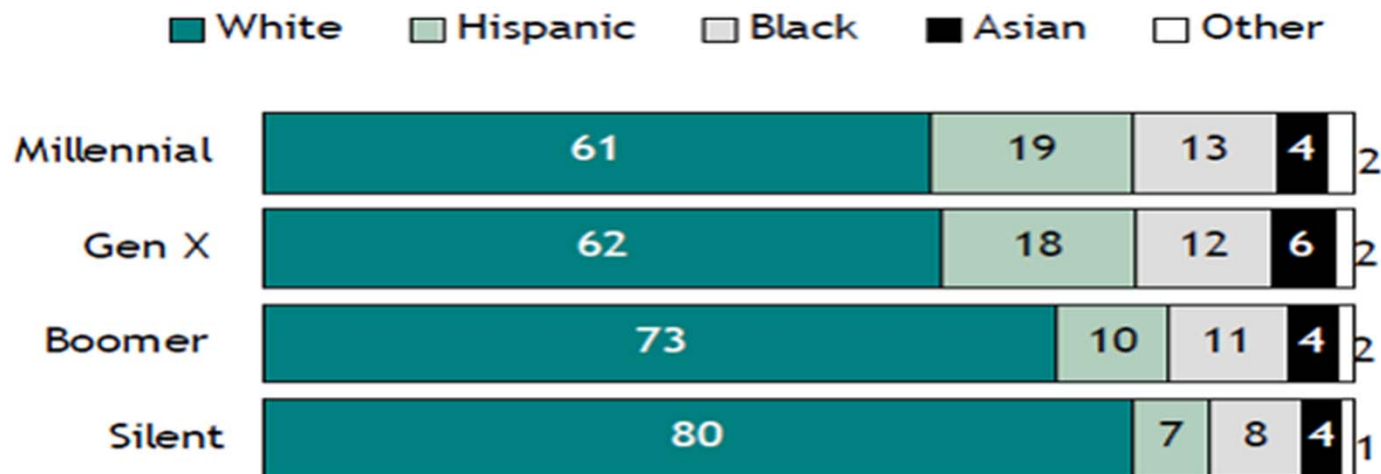
Immigrant Population, by Age and Sex,
for the United States: 2008



Demographic succession

Race/Ethnicity in 2009

% by generation



Note: All groups (other than Hispanic) are non-Hispanic.

Source: Pew Research Center tabulations from the March 2009 Current Population Survey for the civilian, non-institutional population

PewResearchCenter

Young adults

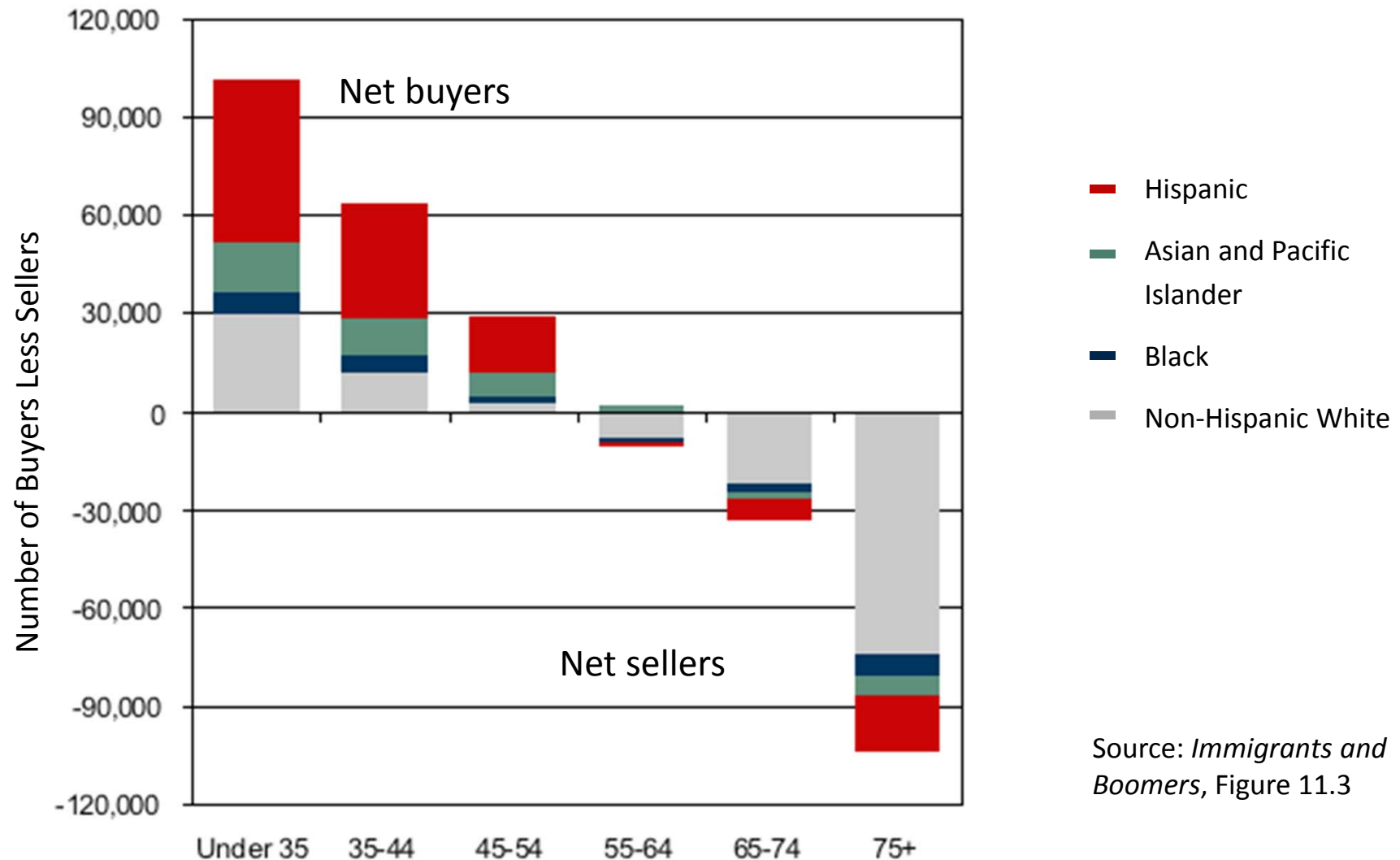
“I work in a stockroom, and my best workers are people who don’t really speak English. It’s cool to get to know them. My stepdad says, ‘why do I have to press 1 for English?’ I think that’s ridiculous. It’s not that big a deal. Quit crying about it. Press the button.”

Young adults, cont.: “Los Suns”



Who's Going to Buy Your House?

Projection for California in 2020



Source: *Immigrants and Boomers*, Figure 11.3

Demographic change + young adults in politics

“In states with larger and more established Hispanic populations, politicians considering anti-immigrant messages have to think seriously about blowback. . . . Behind the scenes, GOP strategists are said to be urging their candidates not to go there.”

- Whites Californians on Arizona’s SB 1070:
 - aged 65+: 30% oppose
 - aged 18-29: 60% oppose

Politics matters!!



KIRSTEN LUCE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

On Madison Avenue, a Muslim Celebration

The American Muslim Day Parade, an annual event since 1985, was held Sunday in Manhattan.

